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SACRED PRECINCTS AND THEIR CEREMONIAL USES

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There were two types of the tribal sacred places, both of which belonged to the chief as the head of the tribe. First there were those to be found in secluded places, being primarily for disposal of the remains of the dead, but also used for ceremonial. These sacred places of sepulture (*me'ae*) have already been described in connection with disposal of remains of the dead. The second type was attached to and a part of the festival places of the tribe, and primarily for use in rites performed at the feast place.

At ceremonial times a number of temporary structures were set up within the sacred enclosure of the tribal temple, being destroyed later upon the completion of the rite of which their erection was a part. Among the temporary buildings were the special house of the inspirational priest, the houses for the assistants, those for the remains of sacrifices, for the ceremonial priest, and so on. A type of small sacred shrine, called *feia'u*, appears to have been erected sometimes inside of the inspirational priest's house and sometimes outside. There were other shrines, called *ananu'u* both inside and outside of the sacred houses. Restricted areas were indicated by peeled hibiscus stakes wrapped in tapa and plaited coconut leaves. The other objects in the sacred precincts were images—usually of wood—conch shells, and the large pearl shell hooks on which sacrifices were suspended in the trees. The banyan and *temanu* were regarded as sacred and were almost always associated with *me'ae*.

THE INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST'S HOUSE

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The most sacred of these temporary structures in the temple precincts was the house of the inspirational priest. This house was called *fa'e tukou*, or *tu'a*, and was built on a platform within the sacred precincts of the secluded tribal temple (*me'ae*), or on the sacrifice platform (*me'ae*) of the feast place (*taha ko'ina*). The following details regarding this structure were obtained at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa:

The house was erected by the temple assistants before the celebration of a rite. At the time of its erection one human sacrifice was killed and eaten. The characteristic feature of this structure was the great height of its roof and its small base, which gave it the appearance of an obelisk. The house had the general form of the native dwelling, that is, it was rectangular and the back wall was continuous from the ground to the ridge pole. The front roof came only part way to the ground, leaving an open section at the bottom. The end walls closed the building. There were three front posts and an end post in the center of each end wall supporting the ridge pole. The front of the house, below the eaves of

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778 346 the front roof, was open. The whole structure was thatched with breadfruit leaves. In Atu Ona, it was said that this house was thatched with palmetto leaves. The house in Pua Ma'u was said to have been built ten arm spans (*mao*) high (one *umi*, or ten *mao*—about sixty feet) and at the base about three spans (eighteen feet) long and three spans wide.

It is said that twelve hundred poles of *fau* were required to make the framework of this structure. By being lashed together the supports of the ridgepole and thatch were made long enough to atttain the great height required. Although the temple assistants erected the house, the aid of the whole tribe was required to get the materials. Outside the house, either in front of it or around it, was a restricted area marked off by about sixty peeled *fau* stakes (*koufau*) decorated with white and reddish cloth, indicating the limits of the most sacred restricted area. No one lived in the *fa'e tukau*. It was regarded as the house of the inspirational priest, but just how he made use of it in connection with his oracular duties, modern informants were unable to tell me. At Pua Ma'u, Pupuke was the god of the *fa'e tukau* and was supposed to live inside. There was, however, no image.

Such a house on Nuku Hiva is mentioned by Garcia (14, pp. 57-58). He speaks of a pyramidal house within the precincts of a *me'ae* that he visited. Dordillon (8) gives as a meaning for the word *fa'e tu'a*, a house pointed in the form of an obelisk. Porter (24, p. 111) describes such structures in a Nuku Hiva *me'ae*. To the right and left of images, which he describes in this sacred place were

> two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoanut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth. . . . The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises.

These would appear to be much less elaborate and permanent structures than those described to me as being built at Pua Ma'u, but there is little doubt that they were for the same purpose.

778 346 825 On top of the ridge pole of the inspirational priest's house were ornaments called *manu ku'a* (red bird), one for every arm span (*mao*) of height, placed at equal intervals along the ridge pole and at right angles to it. The *manu ku'a* was a mythical bird of red plumage. Some native stories recount voyages made in search of its feathers. These bird figures on the priest's house were made by splitting a section of bamboo with many slits, spreading them and stuffing cloth inside to form a roundish body. This frame, wrapped in white cloth that was afterwards stained red with the juice of the fruit of the *mahiha* (?), formed the body of the *manu ku'a*. Another piece of bamboo, wrapped in cloth that had been

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dyed in the same way, was attached to the body to represent the neck and head. There were no legs, the figures being attached directly to the thatch on the ridge pole. At equal intervals between the *manu ku'a* were placed other ornaments called *hukihuki*, made of three small pieces of *opini* (?) wood sharpened at the ends and wrapped in white and red cloth. These ornaments like the *manu ku'a*, were placed at right angles to the ridge pole, long strips of white cloth being left pendant so that they hung down on either side of the roof. These ornaments with their pendant strips indicated that the house was *tapu*. It is said that they were never removed but when worn out were refurbished and replaced. They were the property of the inspirational priest (*tau'a*), and when he died were buried with him.

Light is shed upon the subject of these bird symbols (*manu ku'a*) and the priestly emblems (*hukihuki, opini*), by certain notes of Père Pierre (7), the gist of which is as follows: There were three orders of gods—gods of the sky, gods of the land and sea, and gods of the underworld. The chief gods of the sky were three. In their honor the three cries (*hono*) were uttered by the ceremonial priest when human sacrifices were brought, and the three bundles of *fau* stems were erected upon the *me'ae* on the occasion of funerals of inspirational and ceremonial priests. Upon the occasion of such funeral rites the third of the gods of the sky, Te-hiti-kaupeka, was represented by coconut leaves braided, or by pieces of wood cut roughly, in the form of a bird, this emblem being the embodiment (or perhaps the messenger) of this god, which received the spirit of the deceased priest and conducted it to the sky. The *manu ku'a* would seem, then, to represent this bird messenger; and the *hukihuki* to be identified with the bundle of *fau* stems mentioned by Père Pierre.

Within the *fa'e tukau* was an *ananuu* (see Shrines). There were no images of any kind. Three pieces of wood spoken of as *papa* (plank or board), one apparently resting on the *ananuu*, the second midway up in the interior, were suspended or attached to the sides, and a third was hung beneath the ridge of the roof. On each of these, after writing had been introduced, the following legend was inscribed with the burnt end of a *fau* stick: *"Te ani puta ia Fai"* (The sky hole of Fai.) Before the introduction of writing, a symbol which stood for the same thing was used. It consisted of four designs (*tiki*) named *tava* enclosing an open space in the middle (see fig. 22, *b*) representing the cave—the sky hole of Fai—from which the god Fai was supposed to have brought fire. The very fragmentary account of how Fai sought fire in a cave or hole on top of the mountains is given in the section on myths and legends.

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An exceedingly interesting ceremony was performed in connection with this house of the inspirational priest. Just when or in connection with what rites this was performed I was unable to ascertain, but it seems probable that it was merely a part of the rites surrounding the erection and consecration of the new shrine (*fa'e tukau*), a testing of the strength of the house, and symbolic testing of the power of the inspirational priest and his god, for whom it stood. In the performance of the rite the inspirational priest took his place immediately in front of his house. A body of warriors approached with spears. When they came near, they threw their weapons toward the crest of the roof, attempting to hit the ornaments that adorned it. The object of this, my informants said, was to test the strength of the house of the *tau'a* and to see if it could be knocked down. The bundles of three *opini* stakes are known to have been symbols of the priest's *mana*. One seems justified in concluding, therefore, that the attempt on the part of the spearsmen to hit these objects was a symbolic and perhaps an actual testing of the power and sacredness (*mana*) of the priest.

FEIA'U AND SHRINES

Feia'u or *feiahu* were small temporary structures at both public and private sacred places, erected as a part of various rites. Dordillon (8) considers the word to mean a ceremony to make chiefs, doubtless owing to the fact that the erection of the *feia'u* was a part of the rites performed in honor of a chief's first-born son or daughter (see Sacred Chants). The *feia'u*, described to me in connection with betrothal rites at Pua Ma'u was said to have stood on a special low platform of its own and its posts to have been decorated with plaited coconut leaves (*kopiripiri*).

In the *toʻvana* chant, certain details regarding the building of the *feia'u* are given, mentioning the special cord used for lashing the roof poles, the roof supports, the posts decorated with cloth and coconut leaves, and a feast celebrating the completion of the new sacred *feia'u tapa*. Elsewhere in this chant, *feia'u* is given as the name of the mythical house of the god Ono-tapu and his wife Tahuei.

The *anaiiu* constructed at a sacred place may be characterized as a shrine. At Pua Ma'u it consisted of an upright stake or stakes with a crosspiece, against which were rested or bound four coconut leaves plaited. These, like *feia'u*, were made as a part of both public and private rites.

What were apparently *anaiiu* are described by Stewart and Wilson in their accounts of the voyage of the ship "Duff" Both writers describe the *anaiiu* as associated with private sepulture. Stewart (26, p. 266), says:

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in the valley announcing his *ko'ina*, bearing in his hand a token which constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meave*, and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called *pa'e putoa*, that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the forehead.

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born child to get a kind of fish called *pao'o* for the *tona pou*. He must not be seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou*, in which the men chanted the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and other chants *tapu* to women; and the *fa'e papa*, in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built and only the *vavana* chanted.

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called a number of names according to its use: *tona pou*, *fa'e pou*, *fa'e pu'e*, *faia'u* or *feiahu*, *oho au no motuhaiki*, and *ohu au no ihi*, all these terms except *feia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place (probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden staging (*fata'a akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*).

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the common dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other informants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god Tai.

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*tou'a kaha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the

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346 538 865 873 rite—for what purpose I could not ascertain—and the altar was called *ahu* (pile or mound).

The sacred stone block or blocks, called Tu-fatu and Hoa-fatu, consisted of a slab of hard, dark stone suitable for making adzes, which was brought to the *tona pou* for the occasion from the tribal sacred place (*me'ae*), where it was kept at other times. During the rite a chip was broken off with which to make an adz for a boy. These blocks are said to have been tribal possessions, each tribe having one or more. All adzes were made from them. Although the blocks themselves were sacred, adzes were not. Where the blocks came from no one knew. Tradition recounts that Motuhaiki, a legendary canoe builder and patron of canoe building, dug them out of a hole. At a certain point in the recitation of the *pu'e* the block (here called *to'i ke'etu*: *to'i*, adz and *ke'etu*, block) was carried into the house in which the women chanted and was put on an elevated place called the *pahupahu*.

346 538 869 The sacred rope which was put on the *tona pou* was the "rope with which Motuhaiki noosed the sun," and was supposed to have been made by Motuhaiki, the legendary master canoe builder and patron of carpentry, for the purpose of catching and stopping the sun in its course so that he could complete his work. There seems to be no connection between Motuhaiki and Maui, to whom most Polynesians attribute this exploit of stopping the sun. Where this rope was kept when not in use ceremonially is unknown. It may have been made for each occasion. If such were the case and it merely symbolized the rope of Motuhaiki instead of being the actual rope made by the canoe builder, it would in all probability be explained in exactly the same terms, for when a ritual object is prepared ceremonially the native does not say it represents the object but that it *is* the object.

The post that stood in front of the *tona pou* was called *fata* or *opini* (a kind of wood). It was three or four inches thick and about ten feet high. On the morning of the rite a rope, made of seven strands of sennit cord plaited so that they lay flat, was hung on the post. On top was a horizontal stick with coconut leaves attached in some way. On the afternoon of the rite the fish (octopus) or taro root, and the stone covered with shells collected by the boy's father were tied to the post with the rope. The post was then called the *fata tau enata* (the post landing-place of men). It was thought to be the resting place during the rite for the spirits of deceased priests who came to assist. After this only the old men forming the chorus (*po'i tuhuna*) could eat in the sacred house. These deified spirits were thought to perch on the cross piece. The post was left standing for two weeks, after which time the ceremonial priest

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took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *faia*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te hoehoe*). He also took a small fish called *poo'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ho'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te hopito manava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[1]

[1] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (37, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. "In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the creation of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

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113 27. Tregear, Edward, The Maori race, Wanganui, N. Z., 1904.
28. U. S. Hydrographic Office, Pacific Islands pilot, vol. 2 (Eastern Groups). Washington, 1916.
29. Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, C., Iles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva, histoire, géographie, moeurs, Paris, 1843.
30. Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798 in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson, London, 1799.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133 Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.

342 A. Looking west into Taha Uku, Atu Ona (Vevau), and Ta'a Oa, probably the
● 346 center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.
417 B. Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua
291 Pou.
312 C. Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.
D. Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.
E. Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.
F. Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

142 A. Puhe tete Haapuani, a *tuhuna tani* who was my chief informant at Atu Ona,
291 Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him
304 standing beside the stone image of Taka-i'i at Pua Ma'u. Full blooded.
B. Te-ike Pupuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.
C. Eo tafa of Ta'a Ua, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)
D. Teava'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the lean native type. Pure blooded.
E. Hoeeno of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *kami*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.
F. Tahia-ti'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *peue ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.
G. Proiho of Umo'a, Fatu Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.
H. Manu-peke of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.
I. Tavahi-tekao of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.
J. Taniha Teahu of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.
K. Tehono of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.
L. Tahia-po'o-heana of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.
M. Penapena, chief of Haka Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

304 Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand
332 designs.

133
342
H17
241
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A

B

C

D

E

F

THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS IN 1921

[End Plate 1]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ment of another slab, but as it projected beyond the end wall of the *paepae*, which was still in good condition, the carving was probably ornamental. 342 591

The use of stone figures for dwelling *paepae* was observed only in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, although certain structures in Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva, which were decorated in this way may have been the house *paepae* of religious personages. The Pua Ma'u *paepae* were certainly the dwellings of chiefs, and had been occupied as residences within the memory of persons living in 1920. In all of them the decoration consisted of three stone figures which were inset between the large *he'eu* facing the raised rear section of the *paepae*. One of the figures was placed approximately in the middle, and the other two on either side about midway between the central figure and the ends of the platform. The heads of the statues projected wholly or in part above the level of the house floor, and in one instance the head had been carved in full round. All the other figures were carved in half to three-quarters round. A tenon approximately two-thirds of the width of the body was left on the back of the figures. The slabs adjoining the figures fitted closely against the tenons on either side so that when seen from the front, the statues appeared to stand in front of and against the wall rather than to be incorporated in it. (See Pl. XLI, *D-E*.) The faces, with the exception of one unfinished figure, were of the usual highly conventionalized Marquesan type, while the carving of all the figures was remarkably fine. The statues in one *paepae* are known to have been made in a neighboring valley and brought as gifts to the chief of Pua Ma'u at the time he built the house less than a century ago, but these figures represent the highest development of the Marquesan sculptor's art. They are truly admirable in both design and execution and prove that this phase of the native culture was anything but decadent at the time of the European conquest. 342 532

DECORATION OF THE HOUSE

The most important features of the house decorations were the carving of certain parts of the frame and the use of ornamental sennit lashings. In the carved decoration two distinct techniques were employed—the timbers were either sculptured into human figures, or ornamented with non-naturalistic designs. [531]

Human Figures

The end and front posts of most ceremonial buildings and of at least some chiefs' dwellings were carved into human figures (Pl. XLI, *B*). A number of examples were seen, but only one site was visited in which the original position of the figures could be determined. In this structure, which was certainly ceremonial, the figures supporting the ridgepole had been placed with their faces toward the interior of the house. The corner posts of the front wall also faced inward; 346 532

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1921 OX6 Marquesas OX6

946 532 the other front posts faced outward. A small figure on the end post of a mortuary house also faced inward. It seems probable that this was the usual arrangement for end posts. The human figures were carved in full round, the convention employed being substantially the same as that used in the large idols of wood and stone. The heads were cylindrical, with flat faces upon which the highly conventionalized features were carved in low relief. They were finished at the top with a narrow horizontal band, above which a cylindrical neck considerably smaller in diameter than the head, supported the ridgepole or stringer. The ears, shaped like the chord of a circle, were shown as two thin flanges, projecting from either side of the head slightly behind its center. The forward surface of these flanges was carved with two scrolls of unequal length, the upper one being longer. The scrolls met at a point in line with the outer corner of the eye. In some figures a hole was pierced through the center of the lower scroll. A figure seen in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, differed considerably from these. The roof timber of this house had rested directly upon the head of the figure without any intervening band or neck. The head was narrow, and short vertically with a marked occipital projection. The face was directed upward at an angle of about 35 degrees, and the features, although much weathered, indicated a high nose and generally naturalistic treatment.

The heads of the figures in a building usually showed uniformity in treatment and size, but the proportions of the body varied considerably, not only between the end and front posts but even between individual front posts. In the end posts the bodies and legs were unnaturally elongated, the idea evidently being to have the figure cover as much of the post as possible. In the front posts (Pl. XLI, *B*) the bodies were long and the legs disproportionately short or even lacking. The bodies as a rule showed little attempt at modeling, and were formed by a few simple planes; the arms were usually at the sides with the hands resting on the stomach. Both the upper arm and forearms were disproportionately short, and showed no attempt at modeling. The space between the upper arm and body in most figures was pierced, while the forearm was carved in rather low relief upon the body. In one specimen the hand was raised to the mouth and the upper arm was shown in the usual vertical position while the forearm and hand were unnaturally elongated; the space between the forearm and chin was pierced. The legs were always shown in a semi-flexed position with the space between them pierced. The thigh was usually short and the lower leg disproportionately long and heavy, but in the specimen from Atu Ona, the legs are naturally proportioned and well modeled. The feet were rarely indicated. The sex was usually shown but conventionally and without exaggeration of the parts.

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The end post of a small mortuary house was decorated at the bottom with a small caryatid figure less than two feet high. The undecorated upper part of the post, which was of the ordinary triangular form, was nearly eight feet in length. No other specimens of this sort were seen and the form was probably uncommon.

Carving on Posts

The use of house posts carved with non-naturalistic designs was quite common in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Only one doubtful example of post carving was seen in Nuku Hiva and Stewart's excellent description of the dwellings of that island makes no mention of this sort of decoration although he speaks of ornamental lashings (*39*, pp. 233-6). An informant of Ua Huka said that the house posts on that island were never carved with designs although he remembered the use of ornamental lashings and described them in some detail. It seems probable, therefore, that this type of decoration was little used in the northern islands of the group.

House posts decorated with carved designs retained their original rectangular or triangular cross section, the designs being rather shallowly incised upon the flat surfaces (Pl. XLI, *C*). Front posts were usually carved on the outer and inner sides; the lateral surfaces were left plain. Most end posts were carved on the flat inner side only, but a few were observed in which the two outer surfaces were also decorated. No two posts were exact duplicates, but all the posts from a single house showed more or less uniformity in the motifs employed. This was probably due to their being the work of a single artist.

Some of the posts had been carved with metal chisels, but originally the designs appear to have been hewn upon the posts with a special form of narrow-bitted adz. With this implement the artist worked free hand without a model, which accounted for the coarseness and irregularity of much of the work. The designs were never continuous from top to bottom, but were applied in horizontal zones of varying width. On a few posts there was a suggestion of an additional longitudinal division of the surface into two equal parts. The two surfaces of the outer sides of end posts were ordinarily treated as separate units. The grooves of the carving were usually semicircular in cross section, the raised surfaces between them being narrow and sharp edged. In some curvilinear designs small uncarved spaces were left, but as a rule the artist showed no appreciation of the value of plain surfaces and covered every inch of available space with carving.

In carving house posts angular-geometric and curvilinear patterns were used, but on analysis the number of motifs proved to be small. The designs in the posts studied may be given as follows:

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

352 valuables of the occupants. As a protection from rats the cords by which the bundles were suspended passed through inverted gourd shells. The cords passed over the ridgepole and were tied at a convenient height so that to get a bundle it was only necessary to loosen the cord and lower away. The whole house was kept scrupulously clean and formed a healthy and agreeable dwelling.

SPECIAL HOUSES

343 In addition to the houses of the two main types already described, the Marquesans appear to have built a few special structures of slightly divergent form. No buildings of these minor types have survived; they must be reconstructed from the fragmentary accounts of informants.

The storehouse was not built on a *paepae* but was raised above the ground on four to six posts. It stood near the dwelling *paepae*, preferably at one end, and its floor was at about the same level as that of the house. It was a small structure shaped like a dwelling, but the use of a raised floor must have necessitated minor changes in construction which can not now be ascertained. The floor was made of fau poles. In the better storehouses the posts and frame work were carved and there was a liberal use of ornamental lashings. The house was used for the storage of tapu articles and was sometimes used as a residence by old men. It was tapu to women. The native name for this house was *fata'a*, a word whose resemblance to the Maori word *pataka* (applied to small elevated storehouses) is obvious.

346 Fisherman's houses were built within the precincts of the fishermen's sacred place. In Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, these houses were of special form according to information obtained by Handy (32). They were raised on posts like the *fata'a* already described. The floor was of fau poles and the roof was of the small house type. The ends of the house were closed and in one end, a small rectangular door was built. These houses must have been a local development, for the fishermen's houses in the valley of Pua Ma'u, on the same island, were not of this type.

Fae tukau were sacred structures erected in *me'ae*. They are mentioned by Gracia (28, p. 57) and by Porter (49, p. 111). Porter describes them as follows: "To the right and left of these gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and coconut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth which give a picturesque and elegant appearance. The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height."

According to information obtained by Handy (32) in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, these houses were built by the *taputoho*, a revenge victim (*heana*) being sacrificed

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and eaten as part of the ceremony. The house itself appears to have been of the ordinary dwelling type modified by greatly increasing the height of the roof. One house of this sort in Pua Ma'u is said to have been "three fathoms long, three fathoms wide, and ten fathoms high," but the height at least is almost certainly exaggerated. The end posts were made of several pieces of lumber spliced one above another and placed like those of an ordinary dwelling. There were three front posts. The front was open. The roof was thatched with breadfruit leaves and decorated with figures of birds made from red tapa and split bamboo, between which were placed *koufau* (bundles of sticks). There is said to have been a bird figure for every fathom of height. Within the house there was a *fata'a* called the *anana'u*. The only other objects in the house were three pieces of wood placed one on the *fata'a*, one half way up the house, and another at the top. Each of these pieces of wood was decorated with four designs called *tava* which were so arranged as to form an open square. A *taputoho* lived in this house.

Tona Pou were houses tapu to women in which the men assembled to chant the *puc* (name chant). They are said to have been raised above the ground on posts and, according to Handy (32), were like the *fata'a* except for their larger size.

Canoe houses appear to have been purely utilitarian and did not exist in certain valleys because of the practise of carrying the canoes up into the *tohua* (assembly place) or of dismembering the canoes and distributing the parts among the various owners. They appear to have been most common in valleys having good beaches and the sites of the canoe houses in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, are still remembered. An old man there, who had seen some of these structures, said they were open at one end, like the modern boat houses, but he could give no details of their construction. A modern house in the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, suggested a possible form for these structures. One end of this house was like that of an ordinary dwelling. The other end was open. Two heavy posts of equal height were planted on either side. Their tops were connected by a heavy curved beam, convex side up, from the center of which a short vertical timber extended to the peak of the roof, supporting the ridgepole.

SUMMARY

The Marquesans employed two main house types, the canoe houses possibly forming a third. The simpler houses consisted of a roof resting upon the ground, while in the larger and more elaborate the roof was raised on one side only. Houses of the second type were normally built on terraces or platforms of stone which were often of considerable height. They were used as dwellings and sacred structures. When used for ceremonial purposes some of them were modified by

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	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
[184] String records	Rare or absent	Common	Common
Wood carving	Inferior	Good	Good

Stone construction, ceremonial structures, sculpture and methods used for the disposal of the dead are reserved for detailed discussion in a report on Marquesan archaeology in preparation.

STONE CONSTRUCTION

	HIVA OA	NUKU HIVA	FATU HIVA
[333] Rough Stone	Smaller stone, poorer construction	Large stone, good construction	Small stone, poor construction
Cut Stone	Rare except in ceremonial structures	Common in structures of all sorts	Rare even in ceremonial structures

CEREMONIAL STRUCTURES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
[346] Tohua	Large, surrounded by platforms	Smaller, platforms on one side only	Small, enclosed by wall, platform on one side only
Me'ae	Platforms like house platforms, small and simple	Many terraces and platforms, large and complex	Smaller than Hiva Oa but complex
Linking of Tohua and Me'ae	Absent	Constant	Constant

SCULPTURE

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
[532] Wooden Images	Common	Common	Common
Stone Images	Rare	Common	Rare
Relief Carvings	Absent	Common	Rare or absent
Architectural Images	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent
Detached Heads	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
[764] Mummification in dwelling	Common	Rare	Normal
Mummification in separate house	Rare	Normal	Rare
Platform for embalming house	Absent	Common on s. side of island, rare on north	Rare
Coffin	Canoe shaped with wood cover	Trough shaped with cover of poles	Trough shaped with cover of poles
Tree burial	Common	Rare	Rare

Except for stone construction, ceremonial structures and sculpture the local differences now ascertainable within the Marquesas are so slight that little can be deduced from them; but they appear to point to a higher development of carving in the southern islands of the group and of stone construction in the northern islands. The blending of these two influences in Hiva Oa produced the high development of stone sculpture on that island.

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was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspirational priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the inspirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to